

THE DATE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CATHEDRAL OF CANOSA IN APULIA, SOUTH ITALY*

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HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The cathedral of Canosa, in the South Italian province of Apulia, is a large, portly edifice, now clothed in undistinguished Baroque and nineteenth-century garb.¹ However, the interior of the church retains its medieval sensibility despite the anomalous western extension of the nave and its white-washed walls (fig. 1). This paper attempts to restore something of the cathedral's original grandeur by reestablishing its initial religious and political significance. To clarify the building's medieval meaning, it is necessary first to describe the historical circumstances of its foundation, and then to fix the date of its construction. In the process of this analysis, certain medieval attitudes toward the nature of architectural symbolism may also be clarified.

The province of Apulia encompasses the relatively flat littoral of the Italian peninsula between its spur and its heel. Agriculturally rich and geographically unprotected, Apulia's history during the Middle Ages is one of invasion and occupation. Lombards, Byzantines, Saracens, and Normans all contributed to the cultural heterogeneity of the province. During the eleventh and early twelfth centuries—the period with which the paper is concerned—Byzantine control was eroded and finally

eliminated by the Normans.² The Normans were introduced to Apulia in the 1040's as mercenaries. By 1071, the Norman adventurer, Robert Guiscard, had captured the capital of the Byzantine catapanate of Italy, Bari. While retaining many of the institutions of the Byzantines, and even appropriating some of the pretensions of the imperial court, the Norman conquest fundamentally altered the province's political orientation. Perhaps most clearly evincing this realignment was the church.

The churches of Calabria had been attached to the patriarchate of Constantinople since the first half of the eighth century.³ In 968, Nicephorus Phocas even attempted to ban the use of Latin in the celebration of the liturgy in Apulia and Calabria.⁴ But while an effort was made to hellenize Apulian bishops under Byzantine control in the tenth century, papal opposition and strong indigenous traditions assured the maintenance there of a Latin episcopate.⁵ Still, the Byzantines fostered the independence of those prelates still bound to the pope, and even went some way in the creation of an alternative ecclesiastical structure. Bari, for instance, was made an autocephalus archbishopric by the Byzantines in their attempt to bring ecclesiastical organization into accord with political ad-

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¹Additions were carried out in 1699 after the earthquake of 1627. H. W. Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien* (Dresden, 1860) (hereafter, *Denkmäler*), 57. For nineteenth-century restorations, G. Morea, *Canosa. I suoi ruderi e i suoi monumenti* (Barletta, 1962), 109–13, and R. A. Morrone and M. S. Calà Mariani, in E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale. Aggiornamento dell'opera*, ed. A. Prandi (Rome, 1978) (hereafter, Bertaux, *Aggiornamento*), V, 600–1.

²For an overview of the period, including references to relevant primary sources, J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)* (Paris, 1904), esp. 450–538.

³The transfer of churches in Calabria, Sicily, eastern Illyricum, and probably Crete under Leo III (Mansi, XII, 975D) from Rome to Constantinople resulted from Pope Gregory III's excommunication in 731 of patriarch Anastasius and perhaps also of the emperor over the Iconoclastic doctrine.

⁴F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 3 vols. (Munich/Berlin, 1924, 1925, 1932; repr., Hildesheim, 1976), I, 92, no. 717.

⁵A. Guillou, "L'Italie byzantine du IXe siècle. État des questions," in Bertaux, *Aggiornamento*, IV, 11–12.

ministration of the province.⁶ The Byzantine policy seems to have worked. During the religious controversies between East and West in the middle of the eleventh century, and during the struggle against the Normans, the most prominent Latin bishops remained loyal to the Byzantine emperor.⁷

With the Norman conquest came the reorganization of the church.⁸ Indigenous prelates were replaced with a variety of foreigners whose loyalties lay with their current overlords.⁹ Within this broader framework of shifting alliances, individual sees jealously guarded their traditional rights and privileges. It is that local dimension of self-consciousness which informs much of the history of the cathedral of Canosa.

Canosa, the important ancient city of Canusium, is located toward the center of Apulia, inland from Bari and Trani. The town was perhaps founded by the Greeks as one of the many colonies of Magna Graecia.¹⁰ Still at the time of Augustus, both Latin and Greek were spoken there. It is the oldest see in Apulia, being documented since the fourth century.¹¹ Traditionally, however, the church traces its foundations to the time of the apostles. A certain bishop Felix of Canosa is said to have been a contemporary of St. Peter.¹² During the early Middle Ages, however, Canosa lost its importance. Its most famous bishop, the holy Sabinus, brought glory to his diocese in the second quarter of the sixth century.¹³ But by the end of the sixth century, Canosa was so devastated that Pope Gregory the Great lamented that neither Baptism nor Communion was

offered there.¹⁴ In the second quarter of the ninth century, the city may even have lost the relics of its patron saint, bishop Sabinus. This translation of Saint Sabinus' bones from Canosa to Bari was supposedly carried out by the bishop Angelarius in secrecy, so that the poor people of Canosa would not be upset at their loss.¹⁵ In fact, Canosa never seems to have admitted the relics' removal. The incident appears in retrospect as an early rehearsal for the much greater theft of the body of Saint Nicholas, bishop of Myra, from his tomb in that city of Asia Minor, perpetrated by the Barese in 1087.¹⁶

Economic and political weight was shifting to the port cities of the coast, and with it, ecclesiastical power. The assumption of archiepiscopal authority by the church of Bari under the Byzantines was legitimated only in 1025. At that time Pope John XIX conceded to the archbishop of Bari, Bisanus, the church of Canosa and its suffragans.¹⁷ The see was thereafter commonly referred to as the archbishopric of Bari and Canosa. The continued inclusion of Canosa in the archbishop's title should not be seen as a simple sop to tradition, however. Evidently, Canosa continued to vie with Bari for precedence. This competition is reflected in the exclusive use, at least occasionally, of Canosa in the archbishop's epithet.¹⁸ It is also indicated by the continued controversy between Canosa and Bari as to which cathedral was in possession of Saint Sabinus' remains. This same contention may also be

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

⁷ V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 156.

⁸ N. Kamp, "Vescovi e diocesi dell'Italia meridionale nel passaggio dalla dominazione bizantina allo stato normanno," in *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel medioevo*, ed. G. Rossetti, Istituzioni e società nella storia d'Italia, I (Bologna, 1977), 379–97, and A. Guillou, "L'organisation ecclésiastique de l'Italie byzantine autour de 1050 de la métropole aux églises privées," *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI–XII*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, VII (Milan, 1977), 309–22.

⁹ F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, II (Paris, 1907, repr., New York, 1960), 593–96.

¹⁰ N. Jacobone, *Ricerche sulla storia e la topografia di Canosa antica* (Canosa, 1905).

¹¹ F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo VII* (Faenza, 1927), 288–95. Brindisi is another very ancient see; *ibid.*, 305–10.

¹² *Ibidem*, 289.

¹³ *Vita et translatio S. Sabini*, in *ActaSS*, IX, *Februarii*, II (Antwerp, 1668), 323 ff. The Life probably dates from the eighth century. Also see, for a biography of Saint Sabinus and bibliography, A. Lentini, "San Sabino di Canosa," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, XI (Rome, 1968), cols. 552–55.

¹⁴ Gregory requested assistance from the bishop of Siponto to remedy the situation. *Felicem, episcopum Sipontinum, visitatorem constituit vacuae Canusinae, ubi due presbyteros perochiales ordinet. "Pervenit ad nos, quod Canosina," Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, P. Jaffé ed. (Leipzig, 1888), 148, anno 591.

¹⁵ A. Beatillo, *Historia di Bari, principale città della Puglia nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1637), 30.

¹⁶ P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978), 106–15.

¹⁷ *Codice Diplomatico Barese*. I, *Le pergamene del Duomo di Bari, 952–1264*, ed. G. B. Nitto de Rossi and F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1897), 21–23. Beatillo, in his unreliable *Historia di Bari*, 30, ascribed this shift to the beginning of the episcopate of Angelarius, associating the transfer of the seat of the bishop with the translation of the relics of Saint Sabinus. Jules Gay supports Beatillo's assertion with a circumstantial historical argument: *L'Italie méridionale* (*supra*, note 2), 194–95. The shift of the episcopate from Canosa to Bari has been convincingly associated with the Byzantine tendency toward centralization of ecclesiastical and political authority: Vera von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen* (*supra*, note 7), 152. Also see P. Davino, *Una pagina di storia medioevale delle chiese di Canosa e Bari* (Naples, 1910; reprinted, ed. U. Lagrasta, Rome, 1948), 18 ff.

¹⁸ A. Pratesi, "Alcune diocesi di Puglia nell'età di Roberto il Guiscardo: Trani, Bari e Canosa fra Greci e Normanni," in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo. Relazione e comunicazioni nelle Prime Giornate Normanno-Sveve, Bari, 1973* (Rome, 1975), 225–42.

incorporated in the architecture of Canosa cathedral itself.

Dating the Cathedral of Canosa

The date of the construction of the cathedral of Canosa is not clearly established. The date commonly given—by Krautheimer, Conant, Bertaux, and others—is 1101.¹⁹ This year is conveniently included in the long inscription in marble now in the right transept of the church over the sacristy door. The inscription provides a considerable amount of information not only about the monument's chronology, but also about its ecclesiastical context. It deserves translation:²⁰

In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1101 in the month of September, in the tenth indiction, this church of Canosa was dedicated to the honor of God and the blessed Sabinus, confessor of Christ, by the universal Pope Paschal II on the seventh (day before) the ides of September. And for the carrying out of the business of this holy church, the bishop of Portus, Milo the bishop of Praeneste, the bishop of Albano, the archbishop of Benevento, the archbishop of Capua, the archbishop of Salerno, the archbishop of Naples, the archbishop of Acerenza, the archbishop of Siponto, Bisantius archbishop of Trani, Maraldus archbishop of Taranto, Malgerius

archbishop of Conza, Rugerius bishop of Canne, Gulielmus bishop of Salpi, Mandus bishop of Minerbino, Gaudinus bishop of Muro, the bishop of Conversano, and truly also many other archbishops, bishops, and abbots and an abundant crowd of other clerics were invited. For which reason whoever will have come to this dedication and the yearly festival of it, let them know that they will have lightened themselves from all their sins, which they will have canonically confessed, for forty-six years and forty-three Lents.

If this inscription is to be credited, it seems that the cathedral was dedicated to God and Saint Sabinus in 1101 in a grand ceremony presided over by Pope Paschal II. His entourage included numerous archbishops, bishops, abbots, and lower clergy, most of whom came from either Campania or Apulia.²¹ The recalcitrant Grecophile bishops from Calabria are conspicuously absent. More oddly, Elias, archbishop of Bari and Canosa between 1089 and 1105, is not included in the long list of participants. This is the same Elias, who, as abbot of the powerful Benedictine monastery in Bari, had succeeded in obtaining the newly-arrived, status-laden relics of Saint Nicholas for his own church against the strong opposition of the bishop of Bari, Ursus. It was during his abbacy that the influential pilgrimage shrine of San Nicola in Bari was begun.²²

The inscription does not, however, indicate anything at all about the cathedral's structure at the time of its dedication. Was construction work complete, just beginning, or in progress? The liturgical furnishings of the church as well as its masonry provide further evidence for the dating of the building.

Inscriptions on the marble furnishings of the church indicate that they at least were in use well before the 1101 dedication. The south face of the famous throne of Canosa is inscribed: + UR-

¹⁹ F. Lenormant, "L'art du moyen âge dans la Pouille," *GBA*, 27 (1883), 372 (begun during the episcopate of Elias, 1086–1105 and consecrated in 1101); E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale. De la fin de l'empire romain à la conquête de Charles d'Anjou*, I (Paris, 1903, reprinted Paris and Rome, 1968), 377 (during the archbishopric of Ursus, 1079–1089; the author states that the dedication took place in 1001, but this is clearly a typographical error); Schulz, *Denkmäler* (*supra*, note 1), 55 (at the end of the eleventh century); R. Krautheimer, "San Nicola in Bari und die apulische Architektur des 12. Jahrhunderts," *WJbKg*, 9 (1934), 10–11, compares the church to Saint Sophia in Ohrid, to the church at Kalabaka in Thessaly, and to Saint Sophia in Nicaea. He accepts a *ca.* 1101 date for the building. K. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800–1200* (Baltimore, Maryland, 1959), 217 (1100 and later). A. Petrucci, *Cattedrali di Puglia* (Rome, 1960), 75–76, and following him, A. Venditti, "La cattedrale di Canosa," *Napoli Nobilissima*, n.s. 3 (1964), 174, correctly, I think, suggest a date earlier in the eleventh century, but fail to provide systematically the necessary documentary evidence for their hypotheses. Venditti's article contains useful references to earlier Italian literature on Canosa. G. Morea, "Origini e notizie storiche della cattedrale di Canosa," *Cenacolo*, 3 (1973), 109–46, argues that the building dates from the period of Lombard occupation. Pina Belli D'Elia, "Canosa: Cattedrale," in *Alle sorgenti del Romanico. Puglia, XI secolo*, ed. P. Belli D'Elia (Bari, 1975), 72–79, further substantiates Venditti's argument.

²⁰ Schulz, *Denkmäler* (*supra*, note 1), 55–56. Also see, Marrone and Calò Mariani in Bertaux, *Aggiornamento*, 600, note 11; for a slightly different version, *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, II (Bari, 1898), Appendix, 21, fragment no. 1.

I want to thank Prof. Francis Newton for his comments on this inscription, as well as Dr. Robert Babcock for his generous help with this and other translations of Latin in this article.

²¹ Suspicions regarding this text have been voiced. Compare, for instance, H. W. Klewitz, "Zur Geschichte der Bistumsorganisation Campaniens und Apuliens im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 24 (1932–1933), 57–59; W. Holtzmann, *Italia Pontificia, sive repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII, Samnium, Apulia, Lucania*, vol. IX in *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. F. Kehr (Berlin, 1962), 340. R. Hüls, *Kardinal, Klerus und Kirchen Roms, 1049–1130* (Tübingen, 1977), 121.

²² Krautheimer, "San Nicola in Bari und die apulische Architektur des 12. Jahrhunderts," (*supra*, note 19). There have been slight modifications in Krautheimer's chronology, e.g., W. Krönig, in *Napoli Nobilissima*, n.s. 1 (1961–1962), 210–12. F. Schettini's hypothesis (*La basilica di San Nicola di Bari* [Bari, 1967]) that the basilica was originally the palace of the Byzantine catepan has been almost universally rejected.

SO PCEP(TOR RO)MOALDUS AD (HEC FU)IT
ACTOR.²³ As the archbishop Ursus held the episcopal throne between 1079/80 and 1089, this inscription suggests that the cathedral may have been in use as early as the last quarter of the eleventh century.²⁴ Further, the pulpit of the church also bears an inscription (fig. 2).²⁵

+ EGOACCEPTUS·PECCATORARCHI
DIACN:FECI†HOC OPUS ∴

Although this clearly names the sculptor of the ambo as one archdeacon Acceptus, it provides no date for the work. However, the sculptural detailing as well as the name of the master allow this ambo to be associated with the fragmentary remains of the pulpit of Monte Sant'Angelo, made by Acceptus in 1041, and with the pieces of the throne from Siponto, evidently produced by archbishop Leone who occupied the see between ca. 1023–1040.²⁶ Moreover, the similarity of the mask on the lectern of the pulpit to those on the capitals of the transept columns suggests that the church and the pulpit are contemporaneous.²⁷ It is possible, then, that the church was constructed as early as the second quarter of the eleventh century.

The masonry of the church conforms to an early dating of the building (fig. 3). The fabric of the cathedral, visible on the south face of the transept and the exterior of the apse, is squared local stone with prominent leveling courses of brick. (The present plaster surface seems contemporary with the nineteenth-century additions to the church.) This kind of construction was apparently typical of building practice in the region up until the middle of the eleventh century. It probably evolved locally from the Late Antique building tradition, as found in the so-called church of Santa Sophia outside Canosa, which has been ascribed to the sixth century (fig. 4).²⁸ The baptistery of Canosa as well as

the excavated parts of the old cathedral of Bari, built by bishop Bisantius between 1024 and 1040, were similarly built.²⁹ The old church of SS. Trinità at Venosa, part of which probably dates from the middle of the eleventh century, is brick and roughly squared stone.³⁰ In fact, this combination of brick and squared local stone is characteristic of tenth- and eleventh-century architecture in other provinces of Byzantium.³¹ This endemic mode of construction changes dramatically with the Norman conquest of South Italy. The Normans introduce pure ashlar facing in their foundations. One of the earliest of these monuments is the Benedictine monastery of Ognissanti at Valenzano, founded in 1061 not far from Canosa, built of relatively small, but very neatly cut ashlar blocks (figs. 5, 6). The rapid development of this new medium, along with the complementary art of monumental sculpture, is reflected in such structures as San Leonardo near Siponto, of the late eleventh or early twelfth century (figs. 7, 8), Santa Maria di Siponto as rebuilt in 1117, and San Nicola in Bari, begun in 1087.³² On internal evidence, then, a building date toward the middle of the eleventh century seems likely for the cathedral of Canosa.

Literary evidence provides further support for such a date. The ninth-century *Vita* of Saint Sabinus indicates that he was buried under an altar dedicated to Saints John and Paul in the church of Saint Peter in Canosa.³³ This early cathedral undoubtedly was destroyed during one of the invasions of Apulia.³⁴ But the dedication of the altar of

Congresso internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna, 1962 (Vatican City, 1963), 321–46.

²³ Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (supra, note 19), 444, note 4; P. Belli D'Elia and T. Garton, "Canosa: Cattedrale, Trono vescovile," in *Puglia, XI secolo* (supra, note 19), 86–91.

²⁴ F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra, sive De episcopis Italiae et insularum adjacentium*, VII (Venice, 1721, Krause Reprint, Wiesbaden, 1970), cols. 604–5.

²⁵ Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 444, note 1.

²⁶ M. Wackernagel, "La bottega dell' Archidiaconus Acceptus' scultore pugliese dell'XI secolo," *BA*, 2 (1908), 143–50. Also see, P. Belli D'Elia and T. Garton, "Canosa: Cattedrale, Pulpito," in *Puglia, XI secolo*, 80–86. A different opinion on this matter is given by J. R. Gaborit, "L'ambon de Sainte-Marie de Siponte et les origines de la sculpture romane en Pouille," *Mélanges R. Crozet*, I (Poitiers, 1966), 253–57. Also see H. Schäfer-Schuchardt, *Die Kanzeln des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts in Apulien* (Würzburg, 1972), 21–27.

²⁷ Belli D'Elia, "Canosa: Cattedrale," in *Puglia, XI secolo*, 77.

²⁸ A. Quacquarelli, "Note sulle origini cristiane di Canosa di Puglia: S. Leucio et la catacomba inedita di S. Sofia," *Atti del VI*

²⁹ R. Moreno Cassano, "Il Battistero di S. Giovanni a Canosa," *Vetera Christianorum*, 5 (1968), 163–204; B. M. Apollonj Ghetti, "La cattedrale preromanica," *Bari vecchia* (Bari, 1972), 169–99; Belli D'Elia, "Bari: Cattedrale," and C. Bucci, "Comunicazione preliminare sui restauri in corso nella cattedrale de Bari," in *Puglia, XI secolo*, 99–106, 325.

³⁰ Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 319–20.

³¹ P. L. Vocotopoulos, "Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ ἐς τὴν δυτικὴν Στερεάν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἑπειρόν (Thessaloniki, 1975), 93 ff.

³² For San Nicola, see supra, note 19. For Santa Maria di Siponto, A. Venditti, "La chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore di Siponto," *Napoli Nobilissima*, V (1966), 105–15. For the Ognissanti, L. Sada, "L'abbazia benedettina d'Ognissanti di Cuti in Terra di Bari," *ASIPugl*, 27 (1974), 257–60. For San Leonardo, Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 638–40, and, for further bibliography, A. Thierry, in Bertaux, *Aggiornamento*, 594, note 153.

³³ *ActaSS*, IX, *Februarii*, II (Paris, 1864), 321–29. Also *ActaSS*, XXVI, *Junii*, VII, 138–42. John and Paul were military martyrs from the reign of Julian the Apostate.

³⁴ It is not clear that the new cathedral was built on the site of the old one. G. Bertelli and M. Falla Castelfranchi, *Canosa di Puglia fra Tardoantico e Medioevo*, in *Tesori d'arte sul cammino delle autostrade* (Rome, 1981). I want to thank V. Pace for this reference. This article had gone to press before I was able to obtain a copy of the volume.

the old church seems to have been applied to its architectural successor. A privilege accorded to the bishop of Trani by Urban II (1088–1099) confirmed among his possessions, *Canusium civitatem cum omni suo refugio, ecclesia SS. Iohannis et Pauli excepta, que est sedes Barensis archiepiscopi*.³⁵ Furthermore, in Ferdinando Ughelli's *Italia Sacra, sive De episcopis Italiae*, it is noted that Nicholas, archbishop of Bari and Canosa between 1035 and 1062, not only continued work on the cathedral of Bari begun by his predecessor Bisantius, but also raised from its foundations the church of Saints John and Paul.³⁶ Unfortunately, the site of the church is not given. But the same archbishop Nicholas signed a concession in 1037 as *Nykolaus qs. gratia domini archiepiscopus sancte sedis Canusine ecclesie*.³⁷ Given archbishop Nicholas' close ties with Canosa, it seems very likely that the church of Saints John and Paul that he constructed was the cathedral of Canosa. Thus, the documents not only bolster an early dating for the building, but also provide it a possible patron.

It may be concluded that Paschal II's celebration at Canosa in 1101 was not a consecration of a new church, but rather the rededication of an old one.³⁸ This fits the historical circumstances. Canosa revolted briefly from its new Norman overlord in 1100.³⁹ The following year the church was reconsecrated to a local cult figure, perhaps as part of the city's pacification. It may be conjectured that by his action the pope tacitly recognized the legitimacy of the city's claims on the relics of its sixth-century bishop. This certainly would be an affront to Bari, in view of archbishop Elias' alleged rediscovery of Saint Sabinus' relics in the cathedral of Bari in 1091.⁴⁰ This might also explain the notable absence of archbishop Elias from the roster of those present at the ceremony. Thus, even the *titulus* of a church in the politically sensitive arena of Apulia might have significant connotations. I would like to argue further that the form of the church might also have clear historical implications.

The Significance of the Plan of the Canosa Cathedral

The original medieval form of the cathedral of Canosa has been obscured but not obliterated by

later additions to the building.⁴¹ Even the crypt was developed at a later date.⁴² The church was planned as a transept basilica (fig. 9). The two bays of the nave, the transept arms, and the crossing are still covered with their original, shallow domes. The sail vaults are lit only by the windows in the lunettes which rise above the aisles. Even the crossing dome lacks a lighted drum. These broad domes are supported on half-round arches which spring from monolithic columns. Eight of these columns are *spolia*—verde antico shafts with white marble Corinthian capitals. The rest are medieval copies of the earlier members, rendered in granite with marble capitals (fig. 10). The arches springing from these columns define the major bays of the nave. A secondary rhythm is established by the triple-arched pier arcade which divided each bay of the nave from the aisle (fig. 2).

The exceptionally close relationship between this distinctive domed cruciform plan of the cathedral of Canosa and that of San Marco in Venice has occasionally been noted.⁴³ The implications of this association have not, however, been examined. The church of San Marco, probably begun in 1063, is a large, cruciform building also vaulted with five domes.⁴⁴ These domes are arranged over the nave, transept arms, crossing, and bema (figs. 11, 12). Each dome is set on a low, windowed drum, supported on great arches springing from independent piers. The dome-bays are screened from the aisles, both in the nave and transepts, by elegant arcades which create a secondary rhythm. Galleries may have been planned, but they were never executed. The church was built as a great reliquary for the remains of Saint Mark, the apostle to the Adriatic and disciple of Saint Peter, whose body had been stolen from Alexandria in 827. In the possession of this apostolic saint, the Venetians guarded their claim to ecclesiastical ascendancy over Aquileia, their rival in the northern Adriatic. It was also the palace church of the doges of Venice, constructed at a time when the ambitions of the city were ascending to great heights. In all, the church embodied the aspirations and pretensions of Venice.

The patrons of San Marco consciously chose an

³⁵ Kehr, ed., *Italia Pontificia* (*supra*, note 21), 291 and 339.

³⁶ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* (*supra*, note 24), 603. Unfortunately, Ughelli does not quote the source of his information.

³⁷ *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, I, 35. Also, see *supra*, note 15.

³⁸ Petrucci, *Cattedrali di Puglia* (*supra*, note 19), 75.

³⁹ Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande*, I, 308.

⁴⁰ V. Iohannis arcidiaconi Barensis *Inventio S. Sabini*, in C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici una cum critica historico-chronologica* (Lucca, 1738), anno 1091.

⁴¹ See *supra*, note 1.

⁴² The crypt was completely reworked in 1657, as is shown by an unpublished document in the Archivio capitolare di S. Sabino, reported by dott. Cesira Rossi in Morrone and Calò Mariani, *Bertaux, Aggiornamento* (see note 1 *supra*), 600.

⁴³ This analogy was first pointed out by Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 378.

⁴⁴ O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice, History, Architecture and Sculpture*, DOS, VI (Washington, D. C., 1960), 3 ff.

appropriate model for the monument—the Justinianic church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. This sixth-century structure not only had the architectural prerequisites of scale and impressiveness, it also had the correct associations.⁴⁵ It housed both the relics of the apostles and the remains of the emperors.

The church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, which after the church of the Holy Wisdom, Saint Sophia, was the most important ecclesiastical building in the capital, was razed in 1461 by Mehmed the Conqueror for the construction of the Fethiye Mosque.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, some sense of the monument can be gleaned from medieval descriptions that have survived.⁴⁷ From these it is clear that the church was cruciform and distinctively vaulted with five domes. Four unfenestrated domes vaulted each of the cross-arms, and a fifth was raised above the others and lit by windows in the drum, over the central bay. Great arches supported these cupolas; colonnades separated the aisles and galleries from the nave and transept spaces.

San Marco was not the only Italian church for which the Holy Apostles served as a prototype. The great fourth-century archbishop of Milan, Saint Ambrose, modeled his martyrium of San Nazaro on the cruciform, wooden-roofed predecessor of the Justinianic Holy Apostles—a church of the same dedication built probably by the first Christian emperor, Constantine.⁴⁸ As in the case with the Vene-

tian foundation, the Milanese church housed the relics of the saints who founded the see, Nazarius and Celsus, as well as those of the apostles.⁴⁹ It may be noted that in the Middle Ages the title “apostle” was awarded often to followers of the Twelve as well as to those who knew Christ personally. The remains of these local cult figures were miraculously discovered at a time when the church of Milan was vying for power and status with Rome.⁵⁰ These derivative monuments indicate that the cruciform church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople had, from Late Antiquity onward, considerable status. This status was, no doubt, enhanced by the political implications of apostolic foundations. The prestige of a city was closely associated with the rank of its bishop; the position of the bishop within the ecclesiastical hierarchy was determined, in turn, by the length of his see’s tradition and its claims to apostolic succession.⁵¹

The cathedral of Canosa may also be grouped with the Italian affiliates of the Holy Apostles. Its domed cruciform plan cannot, in any case, have been derived, indirectly, from San Marco, as the Venetian church seems to have been begun only after that of Canosa. Its historical circumstances are also compatible with a comparable interpretation.

The ties between Byzantium and Apulia in the middle of the eleventh century were certainly close enough to allow the importation of architectural

⁴⁵ The foundation stone for the Justinianic building was supposedly laid by the Empress Theodora. Zonaras, Bonn ed., 7, gives its dedication as June or July 548.

⁴⁶ The present structure was built by Selim III between 1767 and 1771. The bibliography on the church of the Holy Apostles is extensive. For this paper, the most relevant secondary sources are: A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche* (Leipzig, 1910), and R. Krautheimer, “A Note on Justinian’s Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople,” *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II, ST, 232 (Vatican City 1964), 265–70, reprinted in *idem*, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (London and New York, 1969), 197–201.

⁴⁷ The sources are collected in R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin*, I. *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, III. *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 46–55. The most important descriptions are found in the following: Procopius, *Buildings*, ed. and trans. G. Downey (London, 1961), I, iv, 9–24; Constantine of Rhodes, ed. E. Legrand, “Description des œuvres d’art et de l’église des Saints Apôtres de Constantinople,” *REG*, 9 (Paris, 1896), 32–65, to which a few emendations are suggested by G. J. M. Bartelink, “Constantin le Rhodien, Ecphrasis sur l’église des Saints Apôtres de Constantinople,” vss. 539, 665, 882, 88,” *Byzantion*, 46 (1976), 425–26; G. Downey ed. and trans., “Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,” *TAPS*, n.s. 47, part 6 (1957), 857–924. For an earlier German translation, Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, II. Heisenberg also discusses affiliated Apostles churches.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the earlier Apostles Church, R. Krautheimer, “Zu Konstantins Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel,”

Mullus, *Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (*JbAChr*, Supplement I, 1964), 224–29, reprinted under the title, “On Constantine’s Church of the Holy Apostles,” *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, trans. C. L. Striker, 27–34. For the church of the Holy Apostles in Milan, A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven, 1917), II, 632–38; Dom E. Villa, “La ‘Basilica Apostolorum’ sulla via Romana a Milano,” *Arte del primo millennio, Atti del II° Convegno per lo studio dell’arte dell’Alto Medio Evo* (Turin, 1953), 77–99; G. Traversi, *Architettura paleocristiana milanese* (Milan, 1964), 91–103. The *titulus* was altered in 396 to St. Nazarius. In any case, from the now lost dedicatory inscription, it is clear that the church not only followed the form of the prestigious church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, but also that this shape had a symbolic content:

“Ambrose built a temple and dedicated it to the Lord, Apostolic in name, function and relics. The temple is in the shape of a cross, the temple is the victory of Christ, the sacred triumphal image marks the place.”

The Latin text is found in Villa, “La ‘Basilica Apostolorum,’” 89–90.

⁴⁹ The church also held relics of Saints Andrew, John, Thomas, and perhaps Luke.

⁵⁰ The effect of this political situation on a fourth-century sculptural program has been analyzed by A. Katzenellenbogen, “The Sacrophagus in Sant’Ambrogio and Saint Ambrose,” *ArtB*, 29 (1947), 249–59.

⁵¹ F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, DOS, IV (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 3 ff.

ideas from the capital. Not only were Byzantine bureaucrats and administrators sent out to the province, but also prominent local figures journeyed to Constantinople. Archbishop Nicholas, the proposed patron of the cathedral, for instance, seems to have spent some time in the New Rome. It is noted in the anonymous *Annales* of Bari that he returned from the capital as an emissary from the emperor to the insurgent Maniakes in 1042.⁵² It appears, then, that under threat of serious competition from Bari the builders or patrons of the new cathedral insisted on the legitimacy of its claims to its traditional privileges by constructing a church with an "apostolic" form. Similarly, the monument's rededication to Saint Sabinus in 1101 reasserted the rights of the see in a different, and perhaps more current manner, by strengthening its grasp on the relics of a regionally important saint. Thus, both the building of the cathedral in the second quarter of the eleventh century and its rededication at the beginning of the twelfth century have a political dimension.

The Tomb of Prince Bohemond

Only formal and circumstantial associations between the cathedral of Canosa and the Holy Apostles have so far been drawn. The buildings look similar and the historical situation in Apulia appears conducive to the introduction of a symbolically significant form. There is, however, a further indication that the two monuments can legitimately be related. At least one contemporary, Prince Bohemond of Antioch, seems to have regarded the cathedral of Canosa as a surrogate for its metropolitan model.⁵³ A consideration of this famous knight's tomb suggests that, for Bohemond, the cathedral of Canosa bore not only the "apostolic" significance, but even the imperial connotations of its prototype.

In the early twelfth century the funerary chapel of Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, Terror of the Greeks, son of the Norman lord, Robert Guiscard, was added to the south transept of the cathedral (figs. 13, 14). Bohemond's choice of location for his tomb in Canosa seems somewhat odd. His connections with the church were not particularly close. Apart from the two thorns from the crown of Christ

which Bohemond gave to San Sabino in Canosa upon his return from Antioch, I know of no donation documents suggesting that Bohemond was a special patron of the foundation.⁵⁴ In contrast, he and his family had made many gifts of lands and goods to the church of San Nicola in Bari and the abbey of Santissima Trinità at Venosa.⁵⁵ SS. Trinità was, in fact, the place of burial of Bohemond's mother Aberada, the first wife of Robert Guiscard, as well as the last resting place of his father, Robert Guiscard, and other relatives. Why Bohemond did not join them there is not clear.

The form of Bohemond's burial shrine is also unusual. The traditional burial arrangement of Norman lords in South Italy and later in Sicily was a sarcophagus with a ciborium-like enframing set within a church. Bohemond's choice of a separate chapel for burial and his choice of building type distinguish his tomb from those of his Norman contemporaries. The chapel is a small, square-plan building with a shallow apse and a dome supported on wall-responds on the north and columns on the south. Earlier literature suggests that this tomb of Bohemond was modeled on a Moslem *turbe*, the sepulchre in which Moslem worthies were sometimes buried.⁵⁶ Such a hypothesis both ignores the formal differences between Bohemond's tomb and the traditional *turbe* and begs the question of why Bohemond would choose a building type for his tomb associated with the "heathen Saracens." In fact, the irregular, intimate space of the interior of Bohemond's tomb resembles that of an atrophied cross-in-square church. The cross-in-square plan is common in Byzantine building tra-

⁵⁴ There seems to be little evidence for the assumption that Bohemond subsidized the construction of the new church at Canosa. This hypothesis appears in the secondary literature with Lenormant, "L'art du moyen âge dans la Pouille" (*supra*, note 19), 372: "Dans les dernières années du XI^e siècle, l'archevêque Elia, moine bénédictin de La Cava, fit faire des recherches et découvrit sous le pavé de l'église le sarcophage qui contenait les restes de Saint Sabinus. Cette trouvaille eut un grand retentissement, et aussitôt Elia, avec le concours de Bohémond . . . entreprit la construction d'une vaste cathédrale qu'il ne vit pas achever. C'est seulement sous son successeur, Pietro, que les travaux en prirent fin. . . ." His lack of documentation implies perhaps a local tradition. For the thorns from the crown of Christ, R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 1917), published posthumously (n.d.), 106. His source, which is unavailable to me, was Angelus Andreas Tortora, *Relatio status s. primatialis ecclesiae Canusinae seu historia* (Rome, 1758), 180.

⁵⁵ L. R. Ménager, "Les fondations monastiques de Robert Guiscard, duc de Pouille et de Calabre," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 39 (1959), 1–116, esp. 22 ff; Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 32, 106–7, 132–33.

⁵⁶ Lenormant, "L'art du moyen âge dans la Pouille," 378; Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 314.

⁵² Gay, *L'Italie méridionale* (*supra*, note 2), 463; *Annales Bareses*, in *MGH*, SS, V, 56, anno 1043.

⁵³ D. Girgensohn, "Boemondo," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1969), vol. XI, pp. 117–24.

dition from the beginning of the tenth century.⁵⁷ Examples from the period of Byzantine rule in Apulia and Calabria still survive, for example, at Otranto, Stilo, and Rossano (figs. 15, 16).⁵⁸ The Normans even translated this type into Romanesque ashlar in Sant'Andrea in Trani.⁵⁹ It was evidently this form of building which inspired Bohemond's small monument. Even some of the details smack of Byzantium. The present cupola is the result of restoration, but the drum seems intact.⁶⁰ This variety of octagonal drum with colonnettes at the corner is a familiar formula in Greece.⁶¹ The architectural sculpture of the tomb includes paleo-Byzantine acanthus capitals, perhaps robbed from San Leucio (fig. 17).⁶² The building is not, however, Byzantine in construction technique. The core is probably mortared rubble (with later ashlar repairs) covered internally with a plaster coating and externally with a marble veneer. While clearly meant to lend the building a certain lavishness, the ill-matched *spolia*-revetment looks a little tawdry. The attachment of a secondary space for burial might also be associated with Byzantine burial practices, both contemporary and traditional. For instance, the Heroon of the Pantocrator Monastery, burial

place of many members of the Comnenian dynasty, was built in the first half of the twelfth century.⁶³ In all, the little mausoleum is a building with a Byzantine bias.

Bohemond's choice of location and his choice of tomb type may possibly be explained as an attempt to emulate the ancient imperial funerary traditions of Byzantium. Before exploring the ramifications of this hypothesis, however, some attempt must be made to establish the Norman noble's relation to the Eastern Empire. Three inscriptions associated with this tomb not only identify the mausoleum as Bohemond's, but also provide some insight into the prince's pretensions. The first, located under the exterior of the cornice of the cupola, reads:⁶⁴

The magnanimous prince of Syria lies under this roof.

No one better than he will be born afterward in the universe.

Greece conquered four times, the greater part of the world

Sensed for a long time the genius and strength of Bohemond.

He conquered columns of thousands with a battle-line of tens by the rein of his virtue, which indeed the city of Antioch knows.

The second inscription is found on the bronze doors which provide access to the tomb from the south.⁶⁵

1. How noble, how valuable Bohemond was,
Greece has witnessed, Syria enumerates.
He conquered the former; protected the latter from the enemy:
Hence the Greeks laugh, Syria, at your destruction.
Because the Greek laughs, because the Syrian mourns
(Both justly), this is true salvation
for you Bohemond.
2. Bohemond conquered the wealth of kings and the
labor of the mighty
And deserved to be called by his name.
He thundered over the earth. Since the universe submitted to him
I can't call him a man; I won't call him a god.
3. He who living was eager to die for Christ
Earned this, as life was given to him dying.
Christ's clemency therefore gave this to him:
That this his faithful champion could be a soldier
in heaven.

⁵⁷ It has been thought that the earliest known example of this plan was probably the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I which was inaugurated in 880. R. J. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *DOP*, 9–10 (1956), 123ff. Some doubts have recently been raised about the form of the Nea. S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Reconsideration of the New Ekklesia," *Sixth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers*, Oberlin, Ohio, Oct. 24–26, 1980, 11–12. Early surviving examples in the capital include the Bodrum Camii and Fenari Isa Camii, both from the first quarter of the tenth century. Earlier and contemporary cross-in-square churches are also found in the Byzantine provinces, e.g., in western Asia Minor, Greece, Cappadocia, and South Italy. C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 273 ff.; Vocotopoulos, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ* (*supra*, note 31), 179 ff.; A. W. Epstein, "The Problem of Provincialism: Byzantine Monasteries in Cappadocia and Monks in South Italy," *JWarb*, 42 (1979), 30–31.

⁵⁸ For the best plans and sections, H. Teodoru, "Les églises à cinq coupoles en Calabre," *ED*, 4 (1930), 149–80 (Cattolica di Stilo and San Marco di Rossano), and 5 (1932), 22–34 (San Pietro d'Otranto). Also see A. Venditti, *Architettura bizantina nell'Italia meridionale. Campania, Calabria, Lucania* (Naples, 1967), II, 852–979.

⁵⁹ Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, 379.

⁶⁰ E. Bertaux, "Pei monumenti meridionali: barbarie recenti nei duomi di Canosa e di Taranto," *Napoli Nobilissima* (1897), 6, 15–16; *idem*, "Ancora dei restauri del duomo di Canosa," *ibid.*, 63–64.

⁶¹ Perhaps the best known example is the cupola of the tenth-century church of the Panagia at Hosios Loukas. L. Bouras, *Ὁ γλυπτός διάκοσμος τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας: στὸ Μοναστήρι τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκά* (Athens, 1980), 22–56.

⁶² Quacquarelli, "Note sulle origini cristiane di Canosa di Puglia" (*supra*, note 28), 330–35.

⁶³ A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP*, 17 (1963), 335 ff.; P. Gautier, "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantokrator," *REB*, 27 (1969), 247.

⁶⁴ Latin text in Schulz, *Denkmäler* (*supra*, note 1), 60.

⁶⁵ Latin text, *ibid.*, 61.

4. Entering, look at the doors; you should see what is written; you should pray
That Bohemond be given to heaven and there he should be placed.

The third inscription is simply the prince's name on one of the pavement stones of the tomb's floor—perhaps the one turned over for the scholar Lenormant by the sacristan of the cathedral early in the twentieth century to display a few mouldy bones in a damp hole, the only worldly remains of the great Crusader.⁶⁶ The two major inscriptions, in any case, identify the deceased as a triumphant warrior and benevolent ruler on the model of the Byzantine emperor, traditionally represented in imperial *encomia*.⁶⁷

There are other manifestations of Bohemond's desire to associate himself with the Byzantine imperium. For instance, he adopted features of the apparatus of the Byzantine state in his government of Apulia. His chief official retained the Byzantine title of *catepan*; the Norman judge was still known by the Greek title *critis*.⁶⁸ Even his seal took a Byzantine form (fig. 18). The obverse shows a byzantinized Saint Peter holding a cross, with, on the reverse, the familiar Greek formula:⁶⁹

+ /KEBOH/ΘΗΤΩCΩ/ΔVΛONBOY/MOVNTH
+ K(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τ(όν) σ(ου) δ(ο)ύλον Βουμουντη
[Lord protect your servant Bohemond]

Bohemond also maintained the old Byzantine capital, Bari, as the seat of his Norman overlordship. More convincing than these internal evidences of Bohemond's high regard for Byzantium is the contemporary literary documentation of his aspirations for the imperial purple. Most notably, Anna Comnena repeatedly alludes to Bohemond's desire to seize the throne of Byzantium for himself. Writing of the First Crusade, she comments:⁷⁰ "When he left his native land, he was a soured man for he had no estates at all. Apparently he left to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, but in reality to win power

for himself—or rather, if possible, to seize the Roman Empire itself, as his father had suggested."

Despite his many military and political encounters with the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, Bohemond never realized his ambition to usurp the throne. Even in death the prince appears to have been unwilling to give up his imperial pretensions, choosing as his final resting place a chapel attached to an apostles church. For it should be remembered that the Holy Apostles in Constantinople was not only famous as a shrine dedicated to Christ's closest disciples, but also as the preeminent mausoleum of Christian emperors. Until the middle of the eleventh century many of the emperors of Byzantium had continued the tradition established by Constantine, arranging for their burial near the Lord's intimates.⁷¹ Though there were burials within the Holy Apostles, most imperial sarcophagi were placed in secondary structures—most notably the "Mausoleum of Justinian" to the north and the "Mausoleum of Constantine" to the south of the church. This latter monument, in which twenty scions of imperial families were enshrined, including Constantine and many of the members of the

great Macedonian dynasty, was a centralized, domed building with "stoae corners."⁷²

Although after the burial of Michael V in 1042 this tradition came to an end, the tombs of the Byzantine emperors must have remained a considerable tourist attraction. Pilgrims of the later Middle Ages continue to comment on the great imperial sarcophagi.⁷³ Bohemond certainly would have had an opportunity to visit the Holy Apostles in Constantinople and its attendant shrines to imperial greatness. He seems to have spent a considerable amount of time in the capital of Byzantium in Spring 1096, negotiating with the Emperor Alexius I concerning the passage of the Crusaders through the empire's territories.⁷⁴ Bohemond's imperial pretensions, his familiarity with Constanti-

⁶⁶ Lenormant, "L'art du moyen âge dans la Pouille" (*supra*, note 19), 379.

⁶⁷ At this time in Byzantium the imperially appointed Master of Rhetoric presented a eulogy to the emperor at the Feast of Lights (Epiphany) on January 6, and a eulogy to the patriarch on Lazarus' Saturday. Like the preambles of imperial chrysobulls, these *encomia* presented an ideal view of the *basileus*.

⁶⁸ Yewdale, *Bohemond I* (*supra*, note 54), 29–30.

⁶⁹ A. Engel, *Recherches sur la numismatique et la sigillographie des Normands de Sicile et d'Italie* (Paris, 1882, repr., Bologna, 1972), plate II, i.

⁷⁰ Annae Comnenae *Alexiadis*, Bonn ed., II (1878), X, 11, pp. 64–65; and Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Baltimore, 1969), 329.

⁷¹ G. Downey, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople," *JHS*, 79 (1959), 27–51.

⁷² P. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042); with an Additional Note by C. Mango and I. Ševčenko," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 6, 21 ff.

⁷³ A. A. Vasiliev, "Imperial Sarcophagi in Constantinople," *DOP*, 4 (1948), 1–26.

nople, and the evident lack of any compelling earlier connection with Canosa all suggest that the Prince of Antioch constructed his tomb next to the "apostolic" cathedral of Canosa in emulation of the augusti of Byzantium.

Thus it seems that the form of the cathedral of Canosa retained its significance as an apostles church into the twelfth century, even after its rededication to a local saint. How long its specific meaning remained intact is impossible to say. It is clear, however, that the church of San Sabino in Canosa rapidly gained a position of considerable local status. It seems to have inspired a series of multidomed churches in Apulia, including the Ognissanti of Valenzano, founded in 1061; San Benedetto of Conversano, built in the eleventh century; San Francesco (originally dedicated to the SS. Trinità) in Trani, founded in 1176; the older, unfinished portion of Santa Maria de Calena, constructed probably in the early twelfth century; and finally the thirteenth-century cathedral of Molfetta (figs. 5, 19, and 20).⁷⁵ In all these buildings, three domes are aligned axially over the nave of a traditional basilican plan.⁷⁶ The aisles are covered with quadrant vaults. The fabric is no longer a mixture of brick and stone, but neat Norman ashlar. In consequence, these later churches have a linear refinement, an architectural crispness missing in Canosa. Nevertheless, their physical and chronological proximity to the venerable cathedral of Canosa, as well as a lack of earlier domed churches of this type in the area, make it seem likely that they represent a naturalized version of San Sabino, transliterated into the Norman Romanesque vernacular so beautifully articulated in the cathedral of San Nicola at Trani or San Sabino of Bari. With the exception of the church at Molfetta, however, all these foundations were Benedictine. Even the one cathedral at Molfetta was originally dedicated to the Virgin (Santa Maria Assunta) rather than an apostle.⁷⁷ In these later buildings, San Sabino of

Canosa was copied not for its apostolic connotations, but rather for its local status.

CONCLUSION

The cathedral of Canosa seems to have incorporated in its plan and superstructure a specific signification. This "meaning" has been identified by four means. First, the church was a distinct form; it is a type that clearly represents an intrusion on the local building tradition. Second, its form is analogous to an earlier monument, the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, which has an established status and specific apostolic and imperial associations. Third, particular historical and political circumstances which favor the introduction of a significant type of church can be identified in eleventh-century Apulia. Finally, there is some evidence that the church was recognized as a surrogate for its prototype by a contemporary, Prince Bohemond of Antioch.

Certainly probing a building's history and form in an attempt to identify its original significance is fraught with methodological difficulties.⁷⁸ Even when scrupulous attention is given not only to the building's intrinsic evidence but also to its historical context, ascription of specific "meaning" to a building must remain hypothetical unless there is literary documentation. The exercise remains, however, a worthy one. In the Middle Ages the church was a primary community focus of political

⁷⁴ Annae Comnenae *Alexiadis* (*supra*), note 70), 60–69.

⁷⁵ B. Berucci, "Il tipo di chiese coperte a cupole affiancate da volte a mezza botte," *Atti del IX Congresso nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura, Bari, 1955* (Bari, 1959), 81–116; G. Ionescu, "Le chiese pugliesi a tre cupole," *ED*, 6 (1935), 50–128.

⁷⁶ Santa Maria di Calena has only two domes, but as the church was never completed, it does not constitute an exception.

⁷⁷ The church is now dedicated to San Corrado. These multidomed churches of South Italy have been associated with those of Cyprus. G. A. Soteriou, "Les églises byzantines de Chypre à cinq coupes et leur place dans l'histoire de l'architecture byzantine," *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di Studi Bizantini, Roma, 1936*, II (Rome, 1940), 401–9; A. H. S. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?" *DOP*, 28 (1974), 78–79.

⁷⁸ A seminal consideration of the "meaning" of monuments was presented by R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography' of Medieval Architecture," *JWarb*, 5 (1942), 1–33, reprinted in *idem, Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (London and New York, 1969), 115–50. In this article, Krautheimer is essentially concerned with how architectural "meaning"—the building's content beyond its immediate use or its structural mass—was perceived in the Middle Ages. He addresses "questions of the symbolical significance of the layout or of the parts of a structure that are prominent: questions of its dedication to a particular saint, and of the relation of its shape to a specific dedication or to a specific religious—not necessarily liturgical—purpose." Also fundamental is A. Grabar, *Martyrium, Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1934–1946; repr., London, 1972). Dealing theoretically with the nature of meaning in architecture, G. Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger* (Berlin, 1951). The methodological difficulties in identifying symbolic forms are encapsulated in the debate concerning octagon palace churches. C. Mango clearly enunciates his scepticism in respect to intrinsic architectural signification in "The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches," *JÖB*, 21 (1972), *Festschrift für Otto Demus*, 189–93. Also see T. Mathews, "Architecture et liturgie dans les premières églises palatiales de Constantinople," *Revue de l'art*, 24 (1974), 22–29; R. Krautheimer, "Again Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople," *JÖB*, 23 (1974), 251–53; C. Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Once Again," *BZ*, 68 (1975), 385–92.

and social concerns as well as religious interest. Treatments of church building simply in terms of structure and style are essentially misleading. Meaning and context are integral to even an incomplete understanding of a medieval work.

Postscript

It is clear from Basil I's repairs and possible redecoration of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople and from various representations of the edifice in Byzantine manuscripts that the church was still one of the great monuments of the New Rome in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷⁹ After the Latin occupation of the city between 1204 and 1261, however, it fell into disrepair. Equally, it was during the eleventh and twelfth centuries that the form of the Holy Apostles most excited the imagination of Latin builders and influenced the construction of great churches, including San Sabino, San Marco, and Saint-Front at Périgueux.⁸⁰ After the twelfth century, with the decline of the Byzantine state and with the international influence of the Gothic—a style which could in no way amend itself to a Byzantine plan whatever its meaning—the Holy Apostles no longer acted as a model for western church construction.

However, there seems to be one further monumental progeny of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: J. F. Bentley's Westminster Cathedral in the City of Westminster, near Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament (figs. 21–23). The Catholic patrons of the church, most particularly Cardinal Vaughan, did not want a Gothic structure.⁸¹ That style was too intimately associated with Anglican, anti-papal nationalism. In addition, the extensive sculptural detailing required in a properly Gothic building was very ex-

pensive. Finally, a Gothic Revival work was very likely to suffer in any comparison made between it and its august neighbor, the thirteenth-century Abbey. The suggestion of an Early Christian basilica was attractively economical, but too Roman and papal for the considerable number of new Anglican converts to Catholicism whose patronage was sought.⁸² An appropriate compromise was seized upon, the style of Christianity in the period of its spiritual innocence—the style of Byzantium. Bentley wrote:⁸³ “That to build the principal Catholic Church in England in a style which was absolutely primitive Christian, which was not confined to Italy, England, or any other nation, but was up until the ninth century spread over many countries, would be the wisest thing to do.” The architect initially planned to study the Christian remains in Constantinople firsthand.⁸⁴ His effort, unfortunately, was frustrated by news of an outbreak of cholera in that city. Instead, he studied Lethaby and Swainson's newly published book on Saint Sophia, the Great Church of Justinian, a monument contemporary with the church of the Holy Apostles.⁸⁵ He also visited Italy, studying in particular the churches of San Marco in Venice and San Vitale in Ravenna. The architect evidently found these preparations adequate for the formulation of his project. From these sources he constructed a brilliantly banded basilica covered by three domes set on independent piers with colonnaded bays. The plan of the cathedral and Bentley's stated appreciation of the congregational planning of San Marco indicate that his church is a simplified rendition of the Venetian monument.⁸⁶

Bentley's Cathedral was dedicated to Saint Peter, the prince of the apostles, along with the Virgin,

⁷⁹ De l'Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral*, 25.

⁷⁹Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, V. 80. For the possible redecoration of the church, E. Kitzinger, “Mosaics: Byzantine and Medieval Mosaics after Justinian,” in *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, X, 344. For criticisms of this proposed late-twelfth-century program as well as the reconstruction of the church in the tenth century postulated by Krautheimer (“A Note on Justinian's Church”), see A. W. Epstein, “The Rebuilding and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles: A Reconsideration,” *GRBS*, 23, 1 (1982), 71–92.

⁸⁰ For the multidomed churches of France: C. Enlart, “Les églises à coupes d'Aquitaine et de Chypre,” *GBA*, 13 (1926), 129–52; C. Daras, “Les églises à file de coupes dérivées de la cathédrale d'Angoulême en Aquitaine,” *CahCM*, 6 (1963), 55–60. M. Durliat, “La cathédrale Saint-Etienne de Cahors. Architecture et sculpture,” *BullMon*, 137/4 (1979), 285–340.

⁸¹ W. de l'Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral and Its Architect*, I-II (London, 1919), 25–26. For the initial interest in a Gothic cathedral, specifically a copy of the Votivkirche in Vienna, N. Wibril and N. Pevsner, “A Westminster Cathedral Episode,” *Architectural History*, 20 (1977), 63–64.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 26. The following statement by Bentley appeared in the first issue of the *Westminster Cathedral Record* (January, 1896): “What gives the building of this period [Byzantine] a preeminence and greater interest over any other, is that it was the first phase of Christian art; that it expressed in full the hallowed genius of Christianity, and was the outcome of a sensitive, aesthetic people, inspired by the Seer of Patmos.”

⁸⁴ De l'Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral*, 26–33.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 35. Lethaby warned his fellow architects about using his book in this manner: “In estimating so highly the Byzantine method of building in its great example [Hagia Sophia] we see that its forms and results directly depend on the then present circumstances and on the then ordinary [building] materials. It is evident that the style cannot be copied by our attempting to imitate Byzantine builders; only by being ourselves free, can our work be reasonable, and if reasonable, like theirs, universal,” W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople. A Study of Byzantine Building* (London, 1894), vi.

⁸⁶ J. F. Bentley, *The Westminster Cathedral Chronicle* (1896), quoted in De l'Hopital, *Westminster Cathedral*, 44–45.

Saint Joseph, and the Blood of Christ. Westminster Cathedral has a distinct form analogous to an apostles church; it has an apostolic dedication; political circumstances favored the introduction of a significant church type. Unfortunately, it is clear from the rich documentation of the building that neither the architect nor his patrons had any intention either to revive the long-lost church of the Holy Apostles or to aspire to the apostolic meaning embodied in San Marco. This late example cau-

tions us not to be inflexible in our interpretations of the "meaning" of buildings. At the same time, it reminds us that even the eclectic architects of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries took the signification of structure very seriously. Only with the Modern Movement was architectural literalism forgotten. Now that the post-Modern development is putting explicit meaning back into buildings, perhaps scholars will be more conscious of this aspect of the monuments of the Middle Ages.



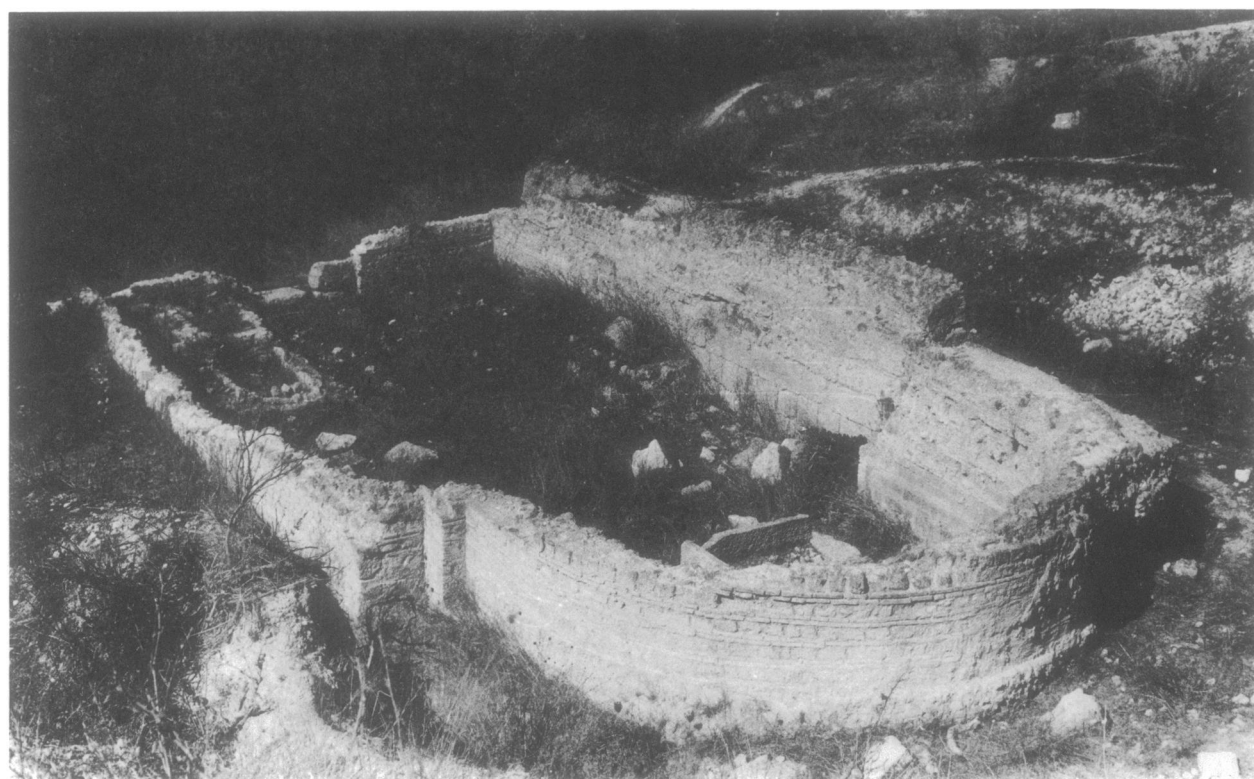
1. Canosa, San Sabino, Interior, looking East, General View



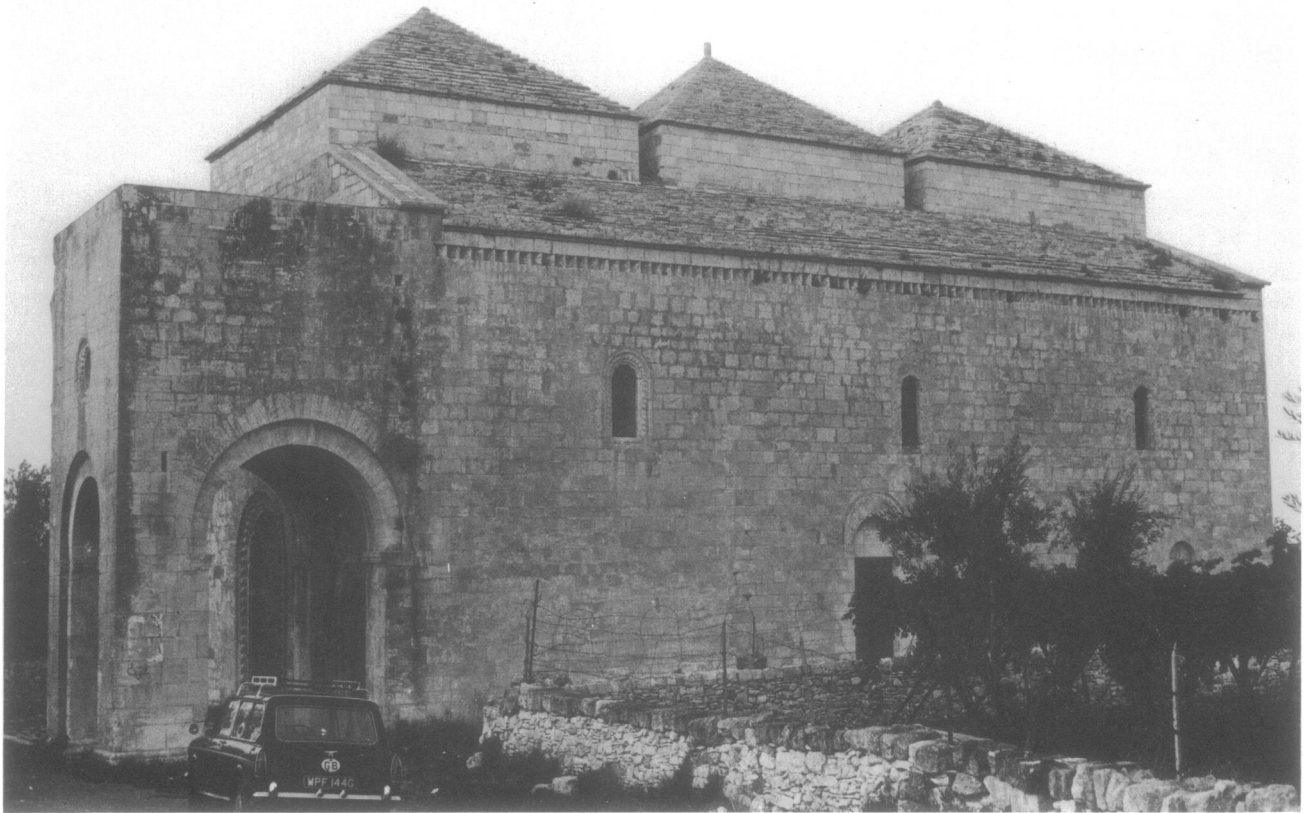
2. Canosa, San Sabino, Nave, Central Bay, North Side, showing Pulpit (not in Original Position)



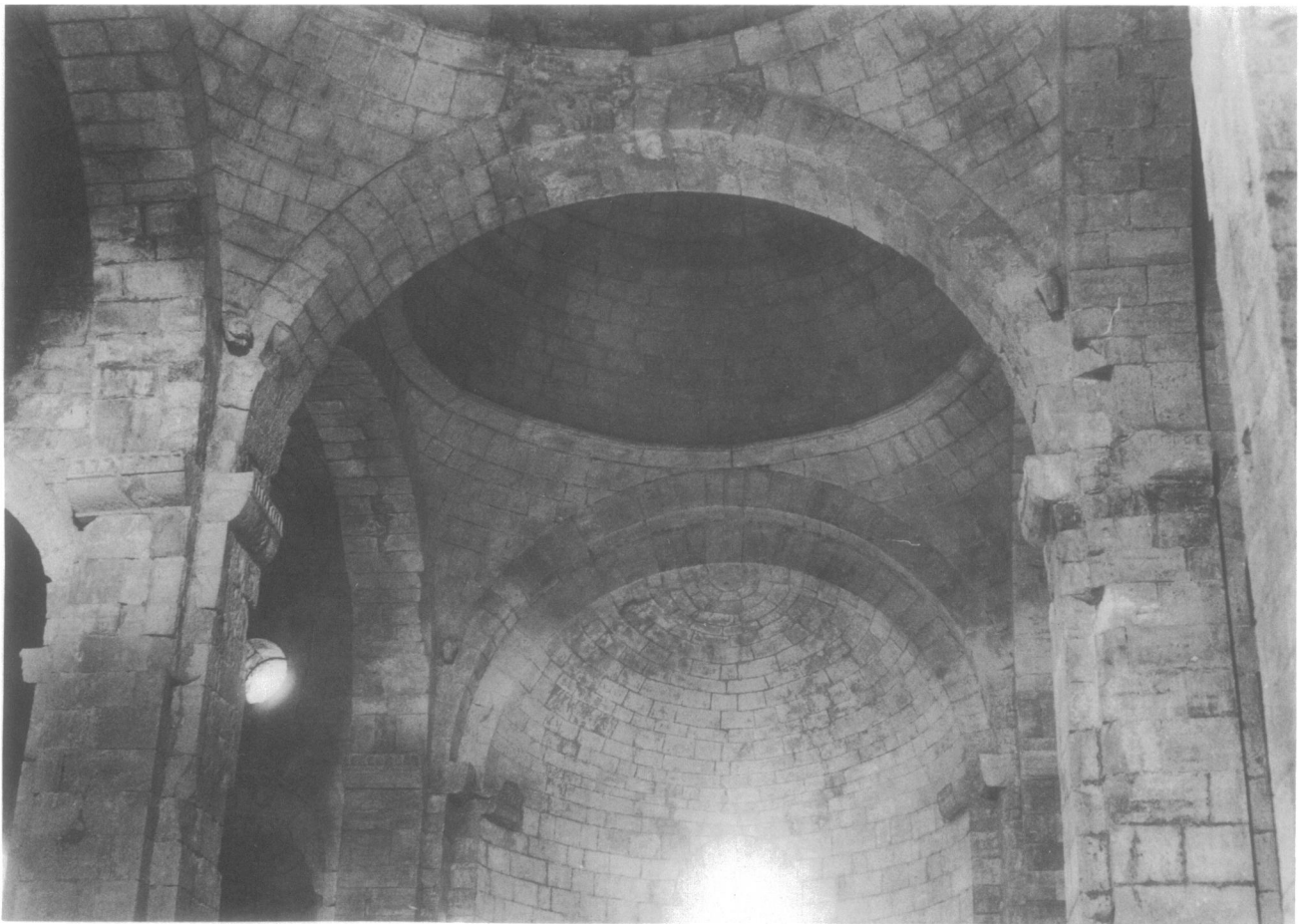
3. Canosa, San Sabino, South Transept, South Wall, Exterior



4. Canosa Environs, Santa Sophia, Remains from Southeast, General View

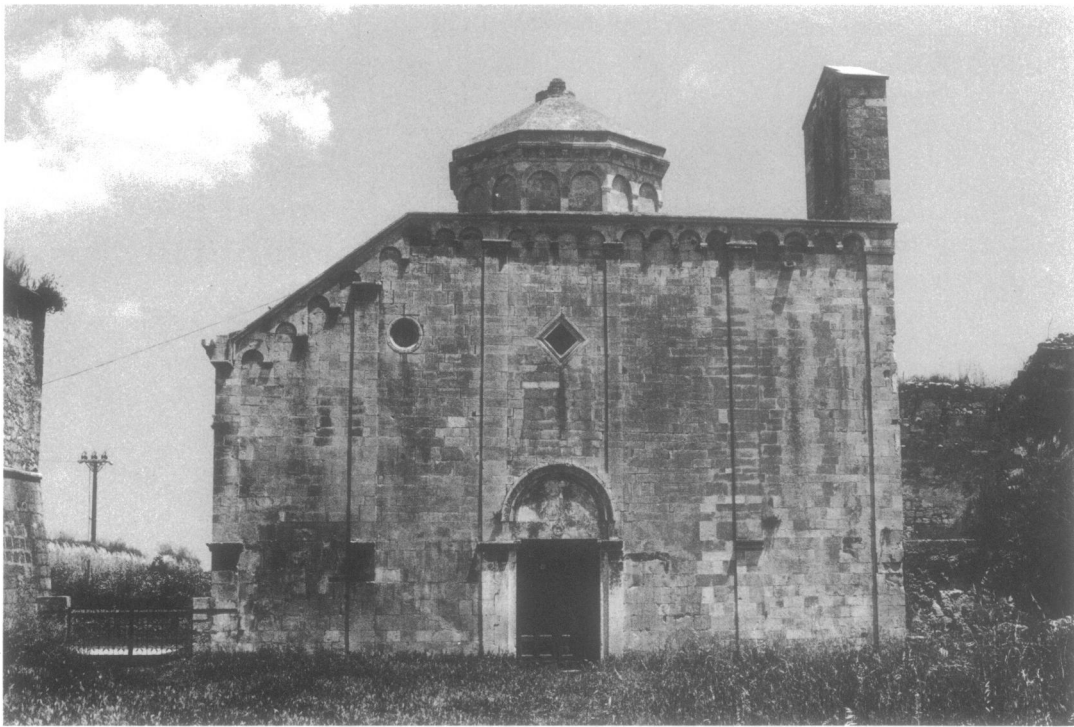


5. Exterior from Southwest



6. Nave, Eastern Dome, Interior

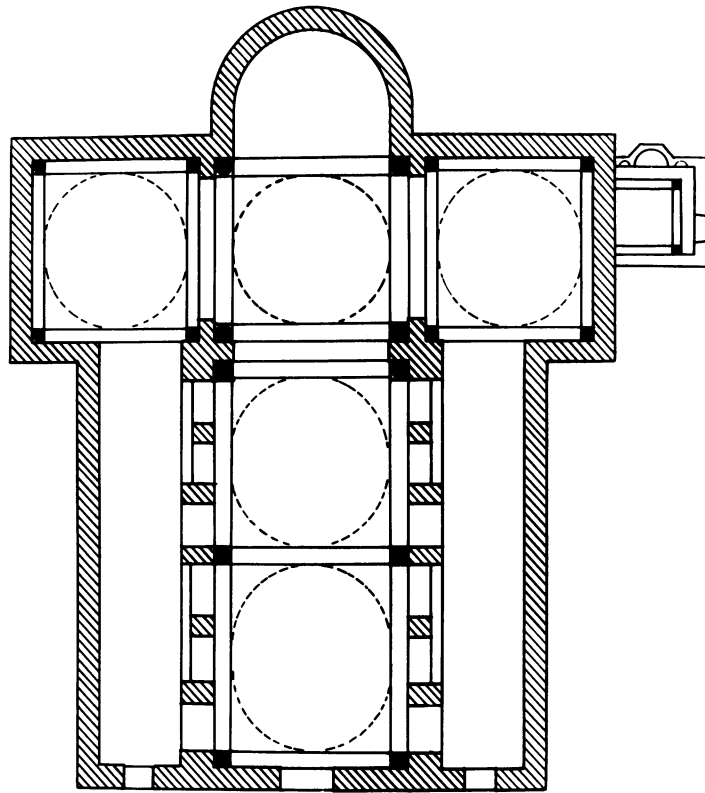
Valenzano, Ognissanti



7. West Façade



8. North Portal, Sculpture, detail



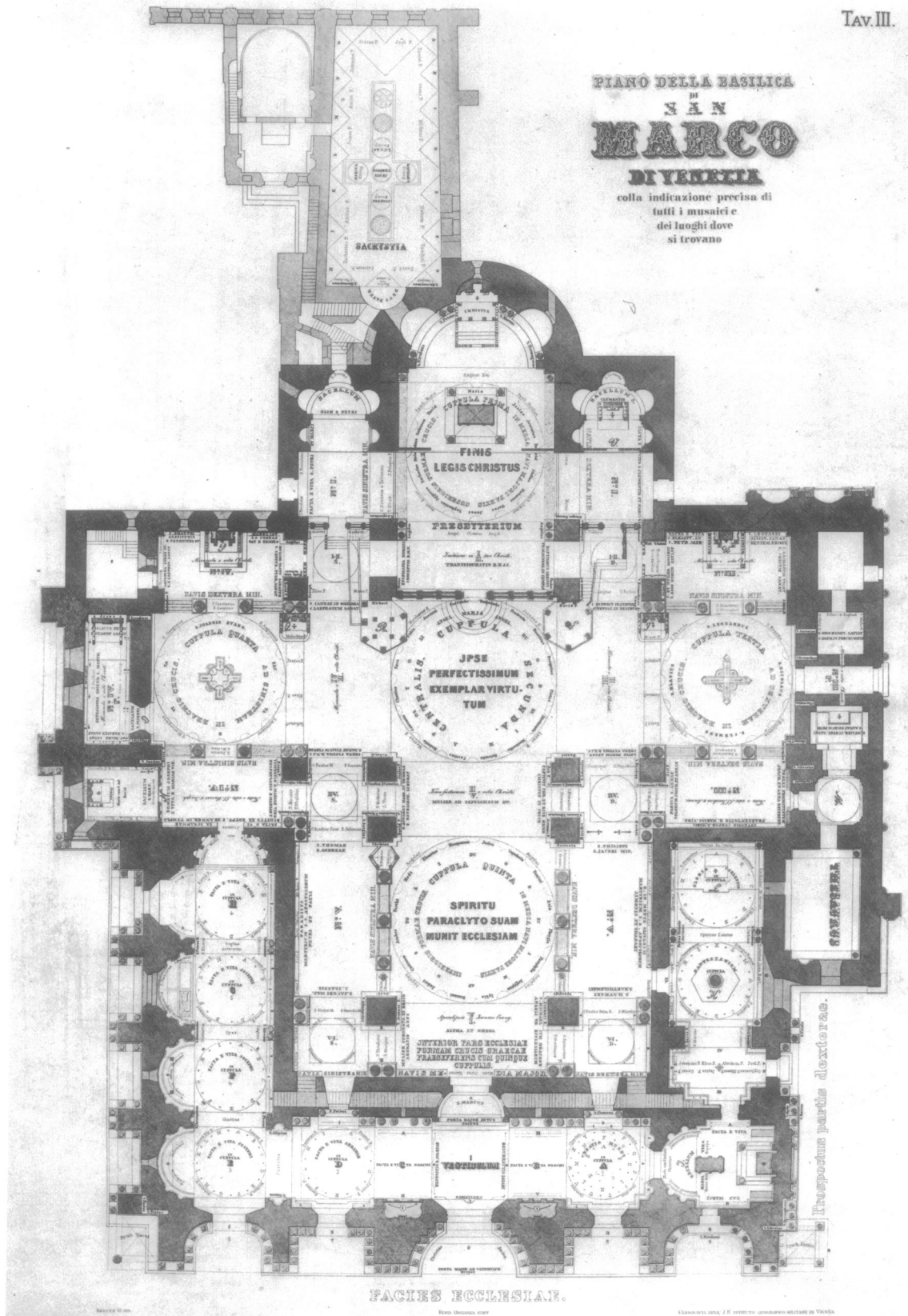
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9. Original Church, Schematic Plan

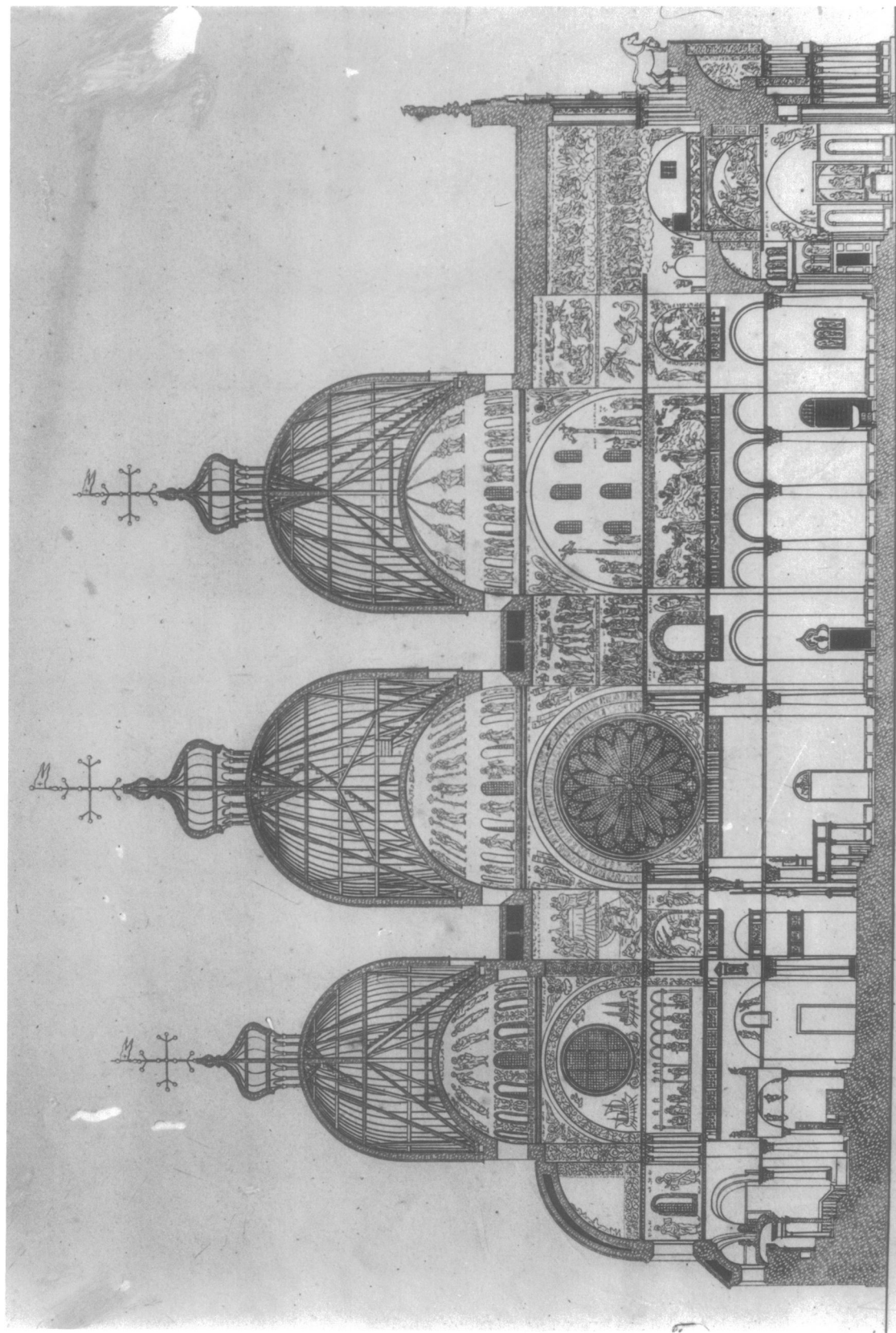


10. Capitals between Sanctuary and Transept Bays; Medieval and Antique Versions of Corinthian

Canosa, San Sabino



11. Venice, San Marco, Plan



Taglio per lunghezza della R. Basilica di S. Marco.

P. C. G. 1841



13. General View

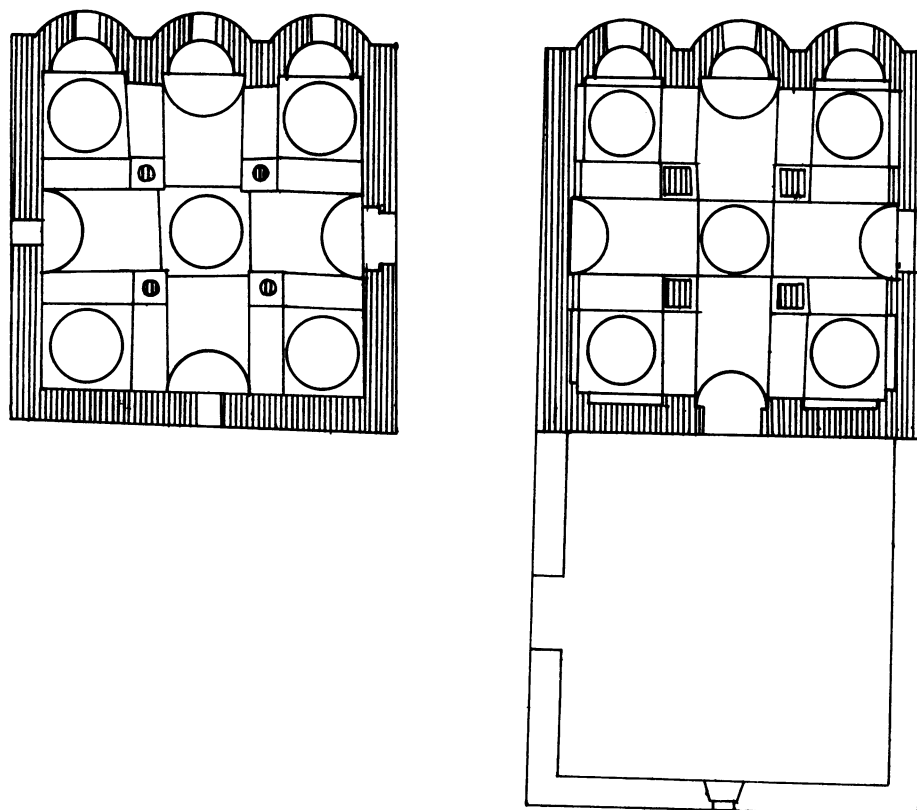


14. Drum from South

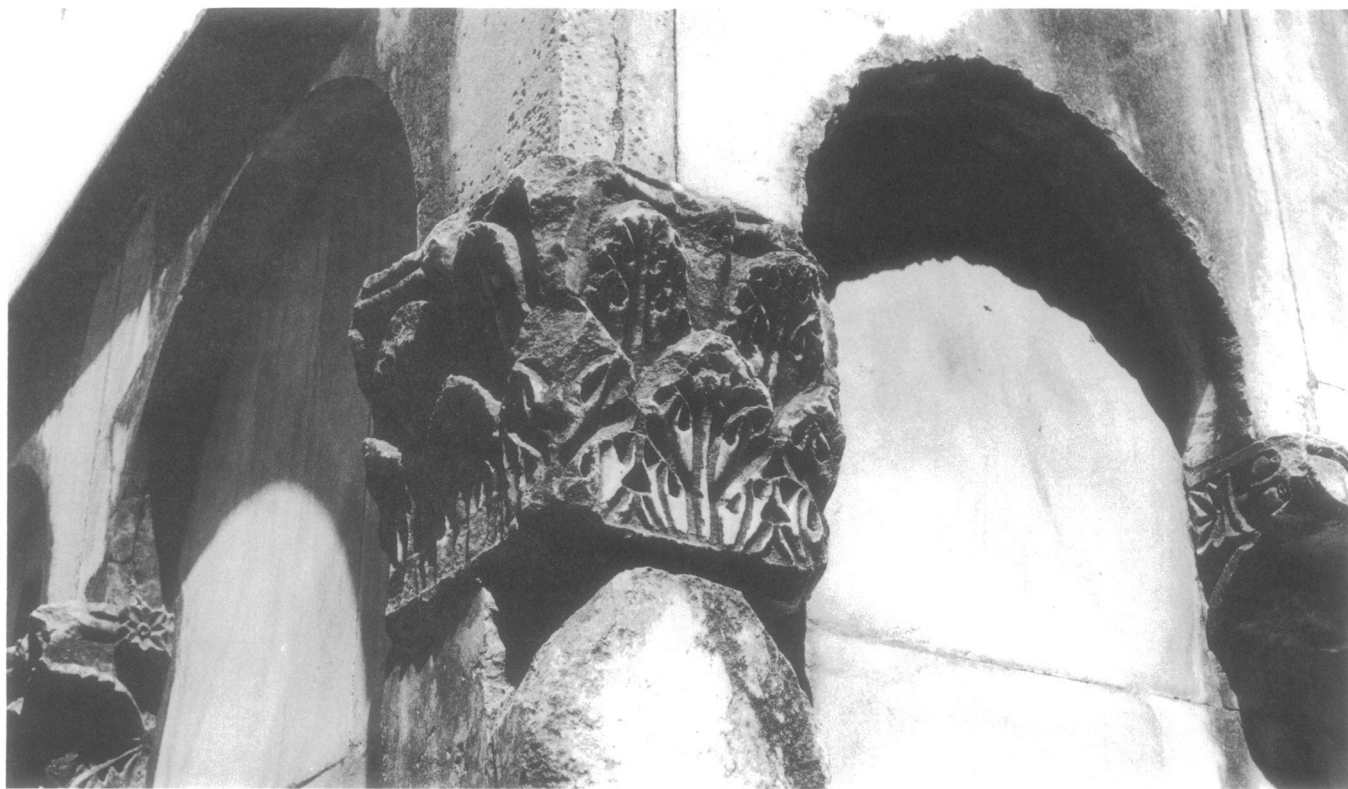
Canosa, San Sabino, Bohemond's Tomb next to South Transept



15. Stilo, Cattolica, View from Southwest



16. Schematic Plans: Stilo, Cattolica (left); Rossano, San Marco (right)



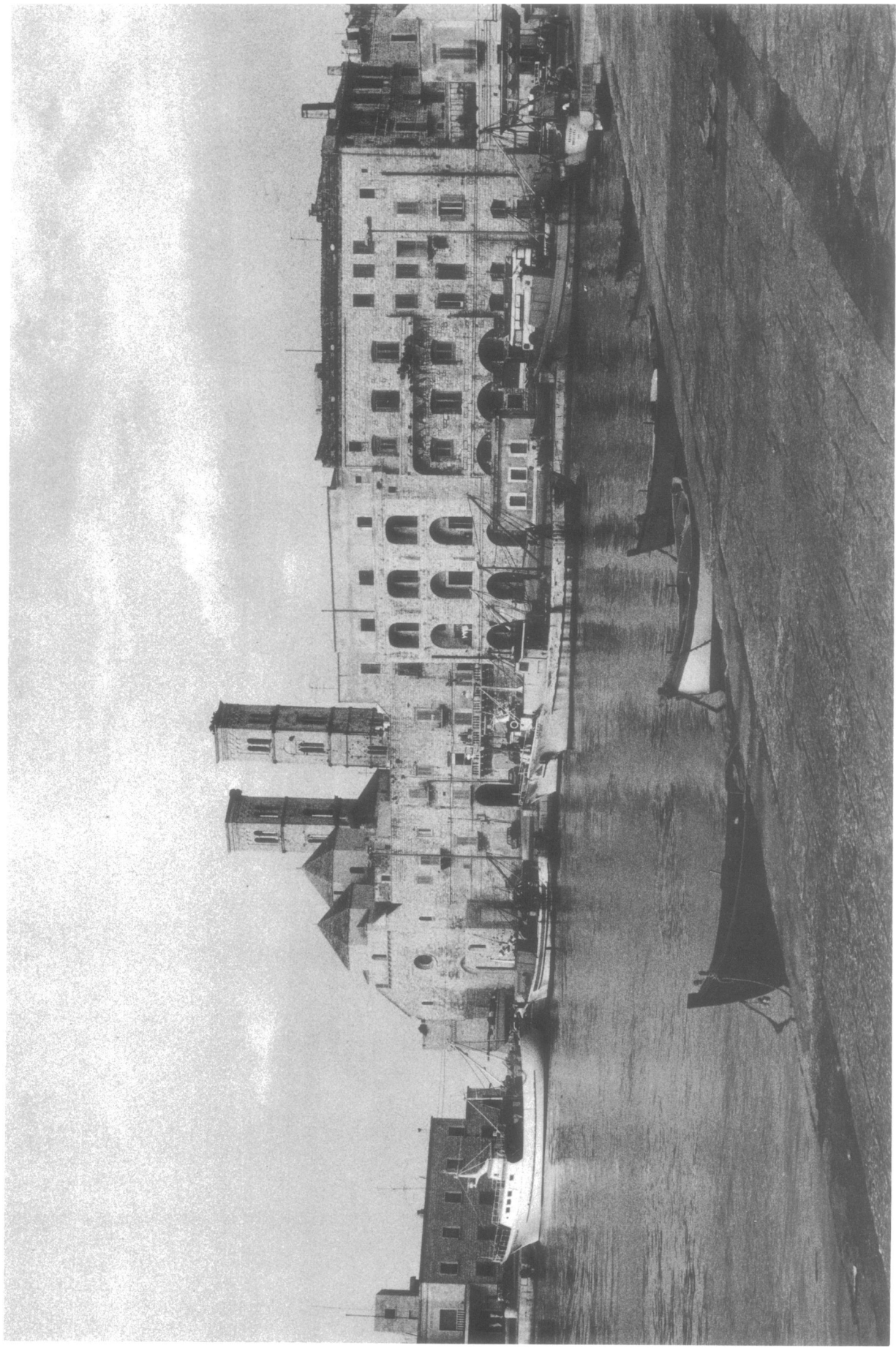
17. Canosa, San Sabino, Bohemond's Tomb, Southwest Corner, Capital



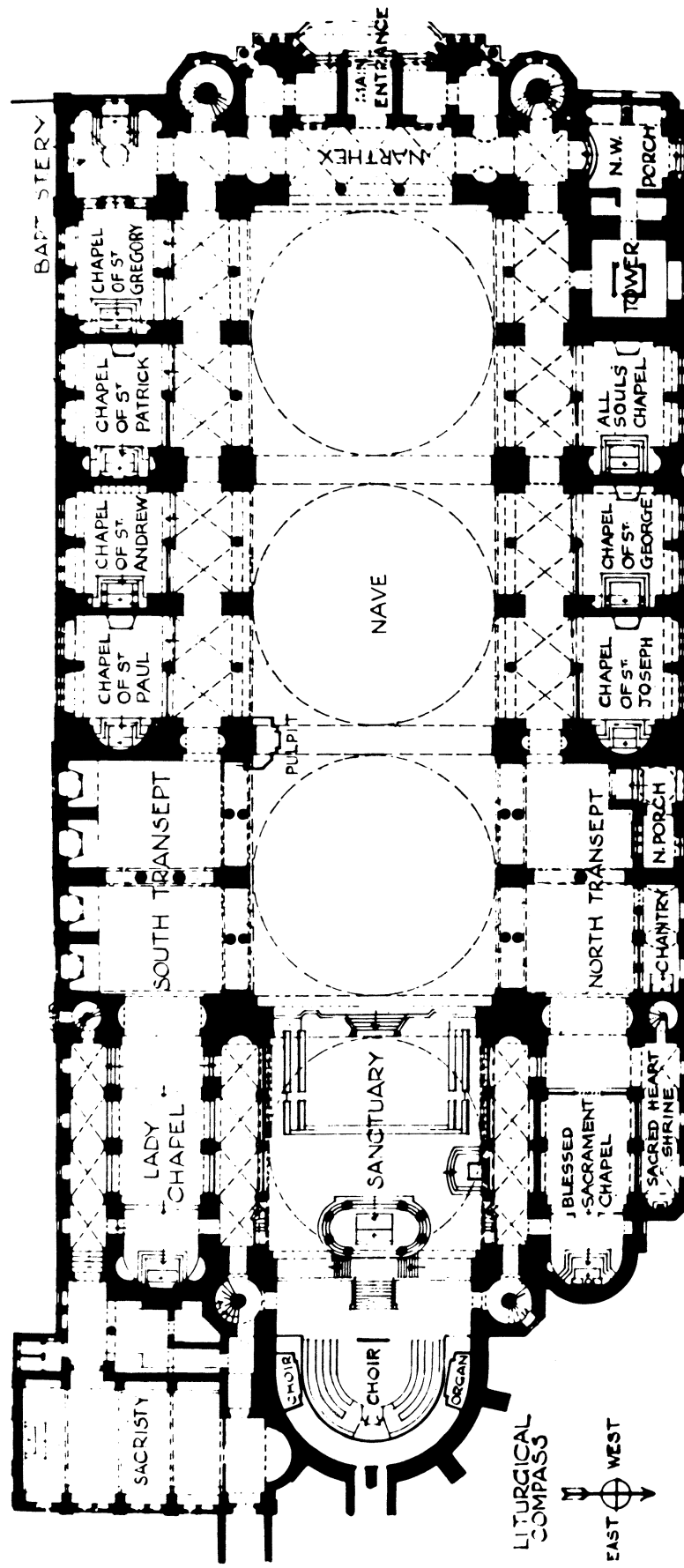
18. Bari, San Nicola Archives. Bull of 1090



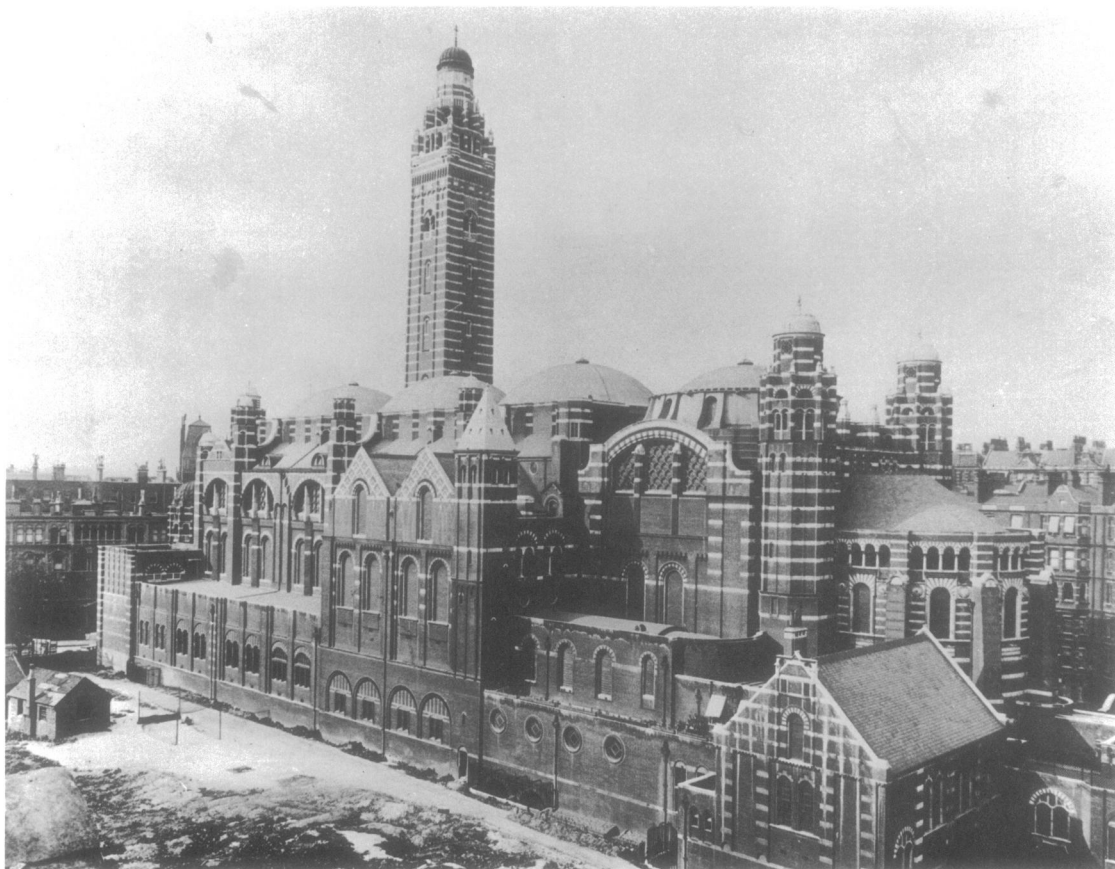
19. Trani, San Francesco, Exterior from North



20. Molfetta, Cathedral (originally dedicated to Santa Maria Assunta) from Southeast, General View



21. Westminster, Cathedral, Plan



22. Exterior from Southeast, General View



23. Interior, looking East, General View

Westminster, Cathedral